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## On *Wh*-Fronting in Russian<sup>1</sup>

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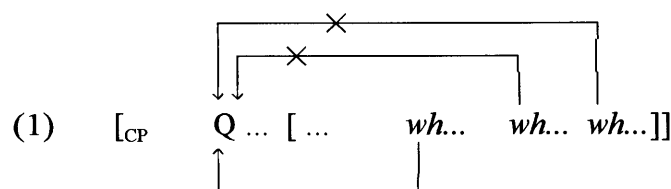
Bošković (1997a), (1997b), (in press a), (in press b) showed that Superiority effects (cf. Chomsky (1973)) may be taken as a diagnostic for *wh*-movement in multiple *wh*-questions, that is, movement of a *wh*-phrase to Spec-CP, if one adopts the minimalist framework of Chomsky (1995b). In this framework, movement is subject to derivational economy, realized in conditions such as Minimal Link (MLC). In the present work I argue that if Bošković is correct then *wh*-movement in the traditional sense does not take place in Russian, a Slavic language where all *wh*-words must be fronted in overt syntax. I argue, instead, that *wh*-words in Russian are fronted for the reasons of checking the focus feature, to a position immediately below C<sup>0</sup>, elaborating on the proposal by Stjepanović (1995) for Serbo-Croatian. I also discuss some independent evidence in support of the 'no-*wh*-movement' analysis, and point to configurational parallels in the relation of fronted *wh*-words in Russian and the interrogative Q feature, and English-type anaphors and their antecedents, under the LF anaphor movement hypothesis of Chomsky (1986), (1993).

### 1. Overview of the Framework

The system developed by Bošković is essentially the following. Bošković adopts the minimalist framework of Chomsky (1995b) which entails, among other things, the operation Attract F targeting features. Under the MLC, if there is more than one feature to be targeted, the one which is higher in the tree is picked by the attractor, since the link resulting from its movement to check the attractor feature will be the shortest. If the attractor feature is interrogative Q, which is checked by the [+*wh*] feature, then the situation can be illustrated as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Howard Lasnik, William Snyder and especially Željko Bošković for their valuable suggestions and comments on the topic in question.



Movement of a lower *wh* is banned by economy considerations, since such movement would result in a longer link, and, consequently, in a longer derivation in terms of nodes traversed. Standard Superiority facts, e.g. in English, follow:

- (2) a. *Who* bought *what*?  
 b. \**What* did *who* buy?

Bošković shows that two Slavic languages with overt multiple *wh*-fronting, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, are well behaved with respect to Superiority. Consider first Serbo-Croatian. In this language, the order of *wh*-phrases is free in matrix questions (cf. Rudin (1988)), but is fixed in embedded and embedded-like contexts, as well as in long-distance questions, as shown in (3), (4), and (5) below, respectively. Examples in (4) are instances of correlative constructions which contain a *wh*-clause that has all the formal properties of *wh*-questions (cf. Izvorski (1996)).<sup>2</sup>

- (3) a. *Ko je koga* vidio?  
       Who is whom seen  
       ‘Who saw whom?’  
 b. *Koga je ko* vidio?
- (4) a. *Ko koga* voli, taj o njemu i govori  
       Who whom loves that-one about him even talks  
       ‘Everyone talks about the person they love’  
 b. \**Koga ko* voli, taj o njemu i govori
- (5) a. *Ko si koga* tvrdio da je istukao?  
       Who are whom claimed that is beaten  
       ‘Who did you claim beat whom?’  
 b. \**Koga si ko* tvrdio da je istukao?

Bošković shows that Serbo-Croatian exhibits Superiority in exactly those contexts in which French has obligatory *wh*-movement, namely, in embedded and long-distance questions, but not matrix questions. The main difference between the two languages is that in Serbo-

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<sup>2</sup>Standard indirect *wh*-questions in Serbo-Croatian do not provide a reliable test for checking Superiority since those questions display no overt signs of their embedded status, such as the absence of Subject-Aux Inversion in English. This brings in an interfering factor whereby the question in a construction like ‘You know what John bought’ in these languages can be analyzed simply as a matrix question with an adsentential part ‘You know’ attached to it.

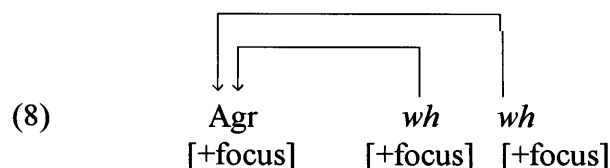
Croatian the *wh*-words that do not overtly raise to Spec-CP must still be fronted. This fronting is independent of *wh*-movement, as shown by the fact that the *wh*-phrase(s) in Serbo-Croatian must be fronted even in echo-questions, where, presumably, no *wh*-movement takes place:

- (6) a. \*Ko kupuje šta?  
       Who buys what  
       b. Ko šta kupuje?

Adopting the proposal in Stjepanović (1995), Bošković proposes that *wh*-words in Serbo-Croatian are inherently contrastively focused, that is, are drawn from the numeration with the [+focus] feature. Further, there is a focus checking position which Bošković argues to be the category Agr. Given these considerations, the fronting under question is an instance of movement to the checking domain of Agr (AgrP adjunction, according to Bošković) in order to check the [+focus] feature of the *wh*-words against a correspondent [+focus] feature in Agr. Since this movement is overt, one of these focus features must be strong. Bošković argues that it is the feature in the *wh*-words themselves that is strong, rather than the feature in the focus licensing position Agr. Consider the following:

- (7) a. Ko šta gdje kupuje?  
       Who what where buys  
       b. \*Ko kupuje šta gdje?  
       c. \*Ko šta kupuje gdje?

If, indeed Agr but not focused *wh*-phrases has a strong [+focus] feature, Bošković maintains, it would suffice to front one *wh*-phrase in (7) in order to check this feature. The fact that all of the *wh*-phrases must be fronted indicates that the *wh*-phrases themselves must have a strong focus feature (see the discussion in Bošković (1997a) for theoretical consequences of this result). In this context, the configuration involving *wh*-fronting in Serbo-Croatian matrix questions can be represented as follows:



Details aside, under this analysis the *wh*-words can check their strong [+focus] feature in any order without violating the principles of derivational economy. The derivation in which the higher *wh* checks its focus feature by adjoining to AgrP first is equally economical to the derivation in which the lower *wh* checks its focus feature by adjoining to AgrP first: in each case, the same number of (full) nodes is crossed. The order of checking is irrelevant. The lack of Superiority effects in Serbo-Croatian matrix questions is thus predicted.

Notice that in the relevant derivations in (8) the interrogative strong Q feature of C is not projected overtly. Alternatively, it may be projected, which triggers movement to check the strong Q feature of C. On the grounds of economy, the *wh* that undergoes such movement

will always be the highest one. Bošković shows that this is exactly what happens in embedded configurations. Given the principle of cycle defined derivationally as in Chomsky (1995a), insertion of C must take place at the root, but not inside the existing structure. Consequently, in matrix questions the interrogative C which is phonologically null can be inserted at LF, after overt movement is done, without violating the principle of cycle. In embedded and embedded-like configurations, however, the insertion of C must take place before the rest of the structure is built, that is, necessarily in overt syntax. Consequently, the need to check the Q feature of C causes the highest *wh* to move, which induces Superiority effects. Superiority effects thus indicates the presence of *wh*-movement (see Bošković (op.cit.) for discussion on how the focus feature of *wh*-phrases is licensed in embedded questions).

Bošković's economy account of Superiority extends to Bulgarian, another multiple *wh*-fronting language. In this language, in all types of *wh*-questions the order of the *wh*-phrases is fixed with respect to the first and the rest of the *wh*-phrases, as (9) shows:

- (9) a. *Kogo kakvo e pital Ivan?*  
       Whom what is asked Ivan  
       'Whom did Ivan ask what?'  
       b. *?\*Kakvo kogo e pital Ivan?*

Following Rudin (1988), Bošković assumes that in Bulgarian non-first *wh*-phrases are right-adjoined to Spec-CP, that is, the *wh*-phrase that is the first in the linear order is the one that moves first. Assuming a Larsonian VP-shell, where the indirect object is generated higher than the direct object, the facts in (9) follow on Superiority grounds: the indirect object *kogo* moves to Spec-CP before the direct object *kakvo* does. That means that the interrogative Q feature is strong and thus needs to be checked in overt syntax, thus inducing overt *wh*-movement. But checking the strong Q feature cannot be the only motivation for moving all of the *wh*-phrases to Spec-CP. The fact that all of the *wh*-phrases must move to Spec-CP indicates that they have a strong feature that is checked by some feature in C. Bošković concludes that, similarly to Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian *wh*-phrases have a strong focus feature that is checked in C, a focus licenser in Bulgarian.

The prediction made by this account is that non-first *wh*-phrases will display no ordering constraints in Bulgarian, since they can move to within the CP projection to check their focus feature in any order. In other words, no Superiority will obtain with regard to non-first *wh*-phrases. This prediction is fulfilled:

- (10) a. *Koj kogo kakvo e pital?*  
       Who whom what is asked  
       'Who asked whom what?'  
       b. *Koj kakvo kogo e pital?*

In (10) the highest *wh*-phrase *koj* is forced to move first to check the interrogative Q feature, by Superiority. The rest of the *wh*-phrases can move to check their focus feature in any order: Superiority is irrelevant here.

An important theoretical consequence of Bošković's account is that it provides a diagnostic for identifying "true" overt *wh*-movement, that is, movement of a *wh*-phrase to Spec-CP. On economy grounds, true *wh*-movement is signaled by Superiority effects in multiple *wh*-questions. Taking Superiority to be a necessary and sufficient factor entailed by *wh*-movement, the natural implication is that the absence of Superiority would signal the absence of *wh*-movement. In what follows I discuss facts from Russian with respect to Superiority, in an economy-based framework of Bošković's type. These facts will force me to conclude that no true *wh*-movement takes place in this language.

## 2. Multiple *Wh*-Questions in Russian

Russian is a language where all *wh*-phrases must be fronted in overt syntax, a situation typical for most of the Slavic language family. Consider first the following pairs:

- (11) a. *Kto kogo videl?*  
           Who whom saw  
           'Who saw whom?'  
       b. *Kogo kto videl?*<sup>3</sup>
- (12) a. *Kto kak spit?*  
           Who how sleeps  
           'Who sleeps how?'  
       b. *Kak kto spit?*

(11) and (12) show that the order of the subject and the direct object, as well as the subject and adjunct, is free. Other *wh*-sequences, such as direct/indirect *wh*-object, and object/adjunct, can also be freely ordered:

- (13) a. *Kogo komu predstavil Ivan?*  
           Whom-acc whom-dat introduced Ivan  
           'Who did Ivan introduce to whom?'  
       b. *Komu kogo predstavil Ivan?*
- (14) a. *Kogo kak narisoval xudožnik?*  
           Whom how painted artist  
           'Whom did the artist paint how?'  
       b. *Kak kogo narisoval xudožnik?*

There is one case, however, where a fixed order of *wh*-phrases is seemingly preferred for many speakers, namely, the subject and the inanimate direct object *wh*, as the following shows:

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<sup>3</sup>Rudin (in press) cites (11b) as deviant, whereas my informants and myself consider it quite normal. See, however, a related example (15b) below.

- (15) a. *Kto čto videl?*  
           Who what saw  
           Who saw what?  
       b. ??*Čto kto videl?*

What is really puzzling about (15) is that it seems to be the only clear instance of the fixed order of *wh*-phrases. In other combinations, involving, in particular, *čto* with an indirect object and an adjunct, it is still possible to get the free order of *wh*-phrases:

- (16) a. *Čto komu dal Ivan?*  
           What-acc whom-dat gave Ivan  
           ‘What did Ivan give to whom?’  
       b. *Komu čto dal Ivan?*
- (17) a. *Čto kak nužno delat’ čtoby preuspet’ v nauke?*  
           What how must to-do in-order-to succeed in science  
           ‘What does one have to do how in order to succeed in science?’  
       b. *Kak čto nužno delat’ čtoby preuspet’ v nauke?*

I will assume here that the asymmetry in (15) is not characteristic of Russian syntax, but due to some other, non-syntactic reasons. Perhaps, it can be regarded as some low level phonological constraint excluding sequences of phonologically similar or identical *wh*-phrases, a constraint that may also operate in other Slavic languages (see Bošković (1997b)).<sup>4</sup> Given that, I will disregard (15) for the present purposes.

Aside from that, the array of matrix *wh*-questions above shows that the order of the *wh*-constituents in Russian is free, which can be straightforwardly interpreted as the absence of Superiority. A conclusion suggests itself, in terms of an economy-based approach, that no Attract *wh* takes place, and therefore, *wh*-phrases in Russian never raise to Spec-CP to check the interrogative Q feature overtly. However, it would be premature to draw this conclusion at this point. We have seen in the previous section that Serbo-Croatian displays no strict ordering of *wh*-phrases in matrix questions, but it does in embedded and embedded-like configurations, where, presumably, the interrogative C is projected in overt syntax in accord with the principle of cycle. In other words, the matrix questions can be IPs, whereas the embedded questions are most certainly CPs in overt syntax. Whenever the (strong) Q feature of C is undoubtedly present in the structure, Attract *wh* occurs, resulting in Superiority effects. Following this line of reasoning, we thus have to examine contexts in Russian where the interrogative Q is clearly present in overt syntax.

Starting with embedded questions we have the following:

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<sup>4</sup>Thus, similarly to Serbo-Croatian, in Russian the following combination is degraded for all the speakers consulted:

(i) ??*Čto čto porodilo?*  
           What what caused  
           ‘What caused what?’

- (18) a. Ivan i Petr ne pomnjat *kto kogo* pobil  
 Ivan and Peter not remember who whom beat  
 'Ivan and Peter do not remember who beat whom'  
 b. Ivan i Petr ne pomnjat *kogo kto* pobil
- (19) a. Ivan i Petr ne pomnjat *kto kak* spit  
 Ivan and Peter not remember who how sleeps  
 'Ivan and Peter do not remember who sleeps how'  
 b. Ivan i Petr ne pomnjat *kak kto* spit

Checking correlative sentences in Russian confirms that the ordering of *wh* in those can vary:

- (20) a. *Kto kogo* uvidit, tot togo i uznaet  
 Who whom will-see-3sg that-one-nom that-one-acc and recognizes  
 'If someone/whoever sees someone/whomever he will recognize him'  
 b. *Kogo kto* uvidit, togo tot i uznaet
- (21) a. *Kto kak* postaraetsja, u togo tak i polučitsja  
 Who how will-try that-one-gen that-way and will-come out  
 'The way someone/whoever tries, that way it will come out'  
 b. *Kak kto* postaraetsja, tak u togo i polučitsja

Yet another context in which Superiority can be tested involves questions with constituents that are placed in front of the fronted *wh*-words. One can possibly analyze these constructions as involving either topicalization or left-dislocation. Let us assume, following a similar proposal in Rudin (1993) for Bulgarian, that in Russian these fronted constituents are adjoined to CP. It follows that, if a topicalized phrase is present, the interrogative Q of C must be projected overtly. In this type of construction in Russian, again, no Superiority obtains:<sup>5</sup>

- (22) a. V etoj škole, *kto kogo* videl?  
 In this school, who whom saw  
 'In this school, who saw whom?'  
 b. V etoj škole, *kogo kto* videl?
- (23) a. V etoj škole, *kto kak* otičilsja?  
 In this school who how performed  
 'In this school, who performed how?'  
 b. V etoj škole, *kak kto* otičilsja?

Finally, in questions where the *wh*-phrase is extracted 'long-distance', which in Russian is only possible in questions involving subjunctive, but not indicative, embedded clauses, the *wh*-phrases can, again, be freely ordered (cf. Serbo-Croatian (5)):

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<sup>5</sup>I thank Željko Bošković for bringing this test to my attention.



- (24) a. *Kogo kogda ty xočeš' čtoby ja priglasil?*  
 Whom when you want that-sbj. I invited  
 'Who do you want me to invite when?'  
 b. *Kogda kogo ty xočeš' čtoby ja priglasil?*

All of the question types considered above, except root (matrix) ones, represent a clear difference with both Serbo-Croatian and also Bulgarian, as presented in Bošković (op.cit.). Now we are in a position to put this difference in theoretical terms. Examples in (18)-(24) suggest that Superiority does not obtain in Russian even when the Q feature, a potential *wh*-attractor, is, presumably, in the structure overtly. The question that arises at this point is how this result can be interpreted in the economy-driven approach we are adopting here, where Superiority is a diagnostic for overt *wh*-movement driven by the need to check the strong Q feature.

### 3. Russian as a 'Wh-in-Situ' Language

Pursuing the insight of the economy-driven approach to Superiority, and avoiding unnecessarily complicating the structure of Russian *wh*-questions, a plausible explanation of the 'no-Superiority' result is the following. We have established that Superiority does not obtain even where the Q feature is present in the structure. That is, no overt *wh*-movement per se, that is, raising to Spec-CP, takes place in Russian despite the presence of the Q feature.

A natural conclusion to draw from this state of affairs is that, in terms of Chomsky (1993), the Q feature is "weak" in Russian. Of course, this state of affairs is not unique to Russian: the same property is true of languages which were traditionally regarded as *wh*-in-situ, such as Chinese. Ignoring for the moment the fact that the *wh*-phrases in the examples above are still fronted, one can say that Russian patterns with *wh*-in-situ languages in the relevant aspect, which is the absence of overt *wh*-movement.

There is some independent evidence that *wh*-phrases in Russian are not, in fact, in the Spec-CP position. This evidence has to do with interpretational aspects of multiple questions. Consider again the English question:

- (25) *Who bought what?*

Presumably, *who* in (25) raises overtly to Spec-CP whereas *what* stays in situ. It has been sometimes noticed that questions like this in English cannot have an individual answer, such as "Jerry bought a book". Rather, this question requires an answer in the form of listing of ordered pairs, for example, John bought a book, Mary bought a computer, Peter bought a car, etc. Although it is not entirely clear what conditions are involved in this inability to have an individual answer in English, one can speculate that the inability to have an individual answer is associated with at least one of the *wh*-words being in Spec-CP in overt syntax. This conjecture is based on the fact noted in Bošković (1998) that in Chinese and Japanese, languages in which, according to standard assumptions, *wh*-phrases are not in Spec-CP in overt syntax, questions like (25) actually can have either an individual or a multiple pair list

answer. Given this, consider the corresponding question in Russian:

(26) *Kto čto kupil?*

Significantly, this question if asked in a proper context can trigger either the multiple pair list answer, or the individual answer, similarly to Chinese and Japanese.<sup>6</sup> This suggests, reasonably, that in (26) the *wh*-phrases are not in Spec-CP in overt syntax either, in parallel with the mentioned *wh*-in-situ languages.

Given the conclusion we arrived at in the discussion above, that no *wh*-movement takes place in Russian, a question that must be addressed at this point concerns the kind and mechanism of movement that does take place in Russian, given the fronted position of *wh* in questions.

#### 4. Focus Movement and the Resulting Structure

The claim in Stjepanović (1995) that movement of *wh*-elements in Serbo-Croatian is driven by the need to check their focus feature, mentioned in Section 1, follows from her argument that *wh*-elements in Serbo-Croatian are inherently focused (in the sense of contrastive focus). Some relevant tests concerning this claim, in fact, carry over to the case of Russian as well, which is intuitively not very surprising given the closeness of these two Slavic languages. For example, in Russian, similarly to Serbo-Croatian, *wh*-words must be fronted even in echo-questions, unlike in languages like English, where they stay in-situ:

- (27) a. (Tak) Ivan *čto* kupil? (echo-question)  
           so Ivan what bought  
           ‘So, Ivan bought what?’  
       b. ?\*(Tak) Ivan kupil *čto*?

At the same time, contrastively focused constituents in Russian also occur in a fronted position:

- (28) a. Ivan KNIGU kupil  
           Ivan book bought  
           ‘Ivan bought a book’  
       b. (Eto) KNIGU Ivan kupil  
       c. ??Ivan kupil KNIGU (OK as a neutral sentence)

Given the parallelism between *wh*-phrases and contrastively focused elements, I assume that Russian *wh*-phrases are inherently focused, and, consequently, their fronting occurs for reasons of checking their focus feature, adopting the crux of Stjepanović’s proposal. The question now is where the focused *wh*-phrases are located. Some usual tests indicating the position of the element in question involve sentential adverbs, negation and

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<sup>6</sup>Such context may involve, for example, the one in which you saw that someone bought something in a store, but did not see who it was and what it was that s/he bought, so you ask the salesman (26).

auxiliaries. Consider the following examples:

- (29) *Kogo* včera vstretil Ivan?  
 whom yesterday met Ivan  
 'Whom did Ivan meet yesterday?'
- (30) *Kogo* (ne) budet vstrečat' Ivan?  
 whom not will meet Ivan  
 'Who will Ivan (not) meet?'

It is only possible to place *kogo* before the sentential adverb *včera*, negative *ne* and auxiliary *budet*, similarly to contrastively focused non *wh*-constituents. Placing the *wh*-phrase in any other position in (29) and (30) yields a degraded sentence.<sup>7</sup> In the Split Infl system, Watanabe (1993) and Bošković (1995), argue that sentential adverbs are TP adjoined, which suggests that *kogo* in (29) is located higher than TP. In cases like (27a), where the subject is located higher than the *wh*-word, we can assume that the subject is scrambled to the left. Since, as we already know, *wh*-phrases in Russian do not raise overtly as high as C, that leaves the category Agr<sub>s</sub> as the only candidate for the position of fronted *wh*-phrases. This category can be taken to be the focus licenser in Russian. Recall that we are adopting the proposal that focus movement is an instance of 'pure Move', that is, movement is driven by the need to check off the focus feature of the *wh*-phrase(s) themselves, rather than the target they move to. Let us then say that Agr<sub>s</sub> has a weak focus feature which is [+interpretable] and therefore does not get eliminated upon checking, along the lines of Chomsky (1995a). Thus, in multiple *wh*-questions all *wh*-words move to check their (strong) focus feature against the corresponding feature in Agr<sub>s</sub>. The very possibility of multiple *wh*-fronting suggests that the actual position of *wh*-phrases is adjoined to Agr<sub>s</sub>P.<sup>8</sup>

- (31) [<sub>CP</sub> Q [<sub>AgrsP</sub> Kto [<sub>AgrsP</sub> kak [<sub>AgrsP</sub> ... spit]]]]  
           who           how           sleeps

Again, the absence of Superiority in this system is indicated by the possibility of moving *wh*-phrases in either order in order to check their own inadequacy, the focus feature. In each case, the *wh*-words traverse the same number of (full) nodes on their way to Agr<sub>s</sub> and no economy principle is violated.

We have arrived at a structural configuration whereby fronted *wh*-phrases are located immediately below C in overt syntax. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, I will assume that the *wh*-words stay in this position at LF: no further movement takes place (that is, I am

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<sup>7</sup>Notice that in both (29) and (30) the subject and the verb are inverted, the order typical for stylistically neutral *wh*-questions (cf. Krylova and Khavronina (1976)). The non-inverted order is also possible, but is not relevant here as being stylistically marked.

<sup>8</sup>I disregard here the multiple specifier hypothesis advanced in Chomsky (1995a). Also, more qualifications are needed regarding, in particular, the behavior of subject *wh*, which has to check the EPP feature along with the focus feature. For now, we can assume, quite naturally, that the subject *wh* checks EPP within the TP domain, on its way to Agr<sub>s</sub>.

following Chomsky (1995a) in assuming that there is no LF *wh*-movement).

For simplicity, let me now revert to the non-Split Infl version of the framework I am adopting, in which the complement of C is IP, rather than Agr<sub>S</sub>P; this will simplify further discussion a great deal, without losing any crucial insight. In the non-split Infl version, *wh*-words in Russian are fronted to a position adjoined to IP. It is now time to compare our result with the configuration argued for in Rudin (in press) for the case of Russian. Rudin maintains, on the basis of a different body of data unrelated to Superiority, that Russian falls into the type of Slavic languages she terms ‘non-multiply filled Spec-CP’ languages, along with Serbo-Croatian, Polish and Czech. The structural characteristic of this type is that, in multiple questions, while the first *wh* resides in Spec-CP, all the others are adjoined to IP. Rudin’s configuration and the configuration argued for here are shown in (32a) and (32b), respectively (irrelevant details omitted):

- (32) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Q *wh* [<sub>IP</sub> *wh* [<sub>IP</sub> *wh*...]]]  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub> Q [<sub>IP</sub> *wh* [<sub>IP</sub> *wh* [<sub>IP</sub> *wh*...]]]

The two structures are in many respects similar. However, it is easy to see that on economy grounds, Rudin’s structure in (32a) predicts Superiority effects for Russian, counter to the situation we found above. On the other hand, (32b) predicts no Superiority, in accordance with the facts.

To summarize the discussion so far, Russian patterns with *wh*-in-situ languages in that no *wh*-movement (to Spec-CP) takes place overtly, contrary to the superficial appearance. Instead, the movement of *wh*-phrases is focus driven; the *wh*-phrases check their own focus feature within the domain of Agr<sub>S</sub> (or Infl, depending on the model adopted). This set of results follows on the grounds of derivational economy and observations concerning Superiority effects, without additional complications to the system.

In what follows I will further explore the structure in (32b) that we arrived at in this section. I will point out to certain configurational similarities between this structure and the one associated with LF anaphor movement of English-type anaphors, and offer a tentative explanation for these similarities.

## 5. Russian *Wh* and LF Anaphor Movement

In this section I investigate the local nature of the configuration in which Russian *wh*-phrases end up with respect to interrogative Q, namely, (32b). That this configuration indeed must be local is suggested by the fact that the following constructions, where a *wh*-phrase and the corresponding Q are separated by a clause boundary, are degraded on the non-echo reading for the most speakers consulted:

- (33) ?\*Ivan i Marija dumajut [čto kogo videl Petr]?  
 Ivan and Marija think that whom saw Petr  
 ‘Who(m) do Ivan and Marija think that Petr saw?’

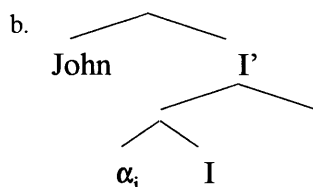
- (34) \**Kto* *dumaet* [čto *kogo* videl Petr ]?  
 Who thinks that whom saw Petr  
 'Who thinks that Petr saw whom?'

There is an interesting symmetry between this configuration and the one that arises as a result of the process known as LF anaphor movement, or Cliticization<sub>LF</sub>, in the sense of Chomsky (1986) and Chomsky (1993). Consider the following example:

- (35) John likes himself

According to Chomsky (1993), in this case the reflexive part  $\alpha$  of the anaphor undergoes covert movement to a head, namely, Infl, and adjoins to it; the minimal domain of Infl contains *John*, an antecedent of the anaphor. The minimal domain is understood in the sense of Chomsky (1995b, p.178). Given that *John* overtly raises to Spec-IP for checking its Case and EPP features, at LF we thus have a structure whereby the subject *John* c-commands  $\alpha$  in the minimal domain (or, to be more precise, in its subset, checking domain) of Infl:

- (36) a. John  $\alpha_i$ -Infl likes  $t_i$



The property of Cliticization<sub>LF</sub>, crucial for the present discussion, is the following:

- (37) The antecedent c-commands the anaphor in the minimal domain of the same head.

Let us now schematically represent the structure we have arrived at in (32b):

- (38)
- 
- ```

graph TD
    Root2[ ] --- C[C]
    Root2 --- IP1[IP]
    C --- PlusQ[["+Q"]]
    IP1 --- wh[wh]
    IP1 --- IP2[IP]
    IP2 --- dots[...]
    IP2 --- I[I]
  
```

I suggest that there is a well-defined formal parallelism between the configurations in (36) and (38). In particular, the property in (37) pertaining to Cliticization<sub>LF</sub> holds for the structure in (38). In order to see that, notice first that (38) involves movement of the *wh*-element(s) close to C (interrogative Q), in a position adjoined to IP. Formally, according to the definition of minimal domain in Chomsky (1995b, p.178), the *wh*-words adjoined to IP are actually in the minimal domain of C. Pursuing the parallelism we are arguing for, we need to show that the *wh*-words and C in (38) are in the minimal domain of the same head, in this case C. According to the definition of domain in Chomsky (1995b, p.178) a head is not part of its

own domain. Let us then slightly modify Chomsky's notion of domain in the following way:

- (39) The *domain* of a head  $\alpha$  is the set of nodes contained in  $\text{Max}(\alpha)$  (the least full category maximal projection dominating  $\alpha$ ) that do not contain  $\alpha$ .<sup>9</sup>

Adopting (39) and the corresponding notion of minimal domain (same as Chomsky's)  $C$  is now in the minimal domain of itself. Thus, both the *wh*-words and  $C$  in (38) are in the same minimal domain of  $C$ .

Now, in order to see how the properties in (37) fare with respect to the configuration in (38) we need to regard terms "antecedent" and "anaphor" in (37) somewhat loosely. In particular, we may consider  $C$  and the fronted *wh*-word(s) as elements that behave in certain respects as an "antecedent" and "anaphor(s)". This perspective is not new and has been discussed, in particular, in Aoun (1986), Aoun and Li (1993) and Ouhalla (1996). For Ouhalla, the relational analogy between the interrogative Comp and the *wh*-words, on the one hand, and between the antecedent NP and the reflexive anaphor like *himself*, on the other, boils down to the fact that in both cases the "anaphoric" element is somehow "construed with" its "antecedent". Ouhalla claims that in certain languages (such as Iraqi Arabic) construal of *wh*-phrases with their "antecedents" (interrogative Comp) may be subject to the same syntactic constraints as construal of anaphors with their antecedents, although, as Ouhalla acknowledges, such similarities in formal distribution of anaphors and *wh*-elements do not extend to all languages.

Let us then tentatively adopt the view that in Russian  $C$  (interrogative Q) acts as a sort of "antecedent" for the fronted *wh*-words. If so, then property (37) holds straightforwardly for the configuration in (38), since  $C$  c-commands the fronted *wh*-words in the minimal domain of the same head.<sup>10</sup>

The above discussion did not mean to imply, of course, that *wh*-fronting in Russian, which, as we established above, is focus movement, and Chomsky's Cliticization<sub>LF</sub> are

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<sup>9</sup>*Containment* here is an irreflexive notion so that  $\alpha$  does not contain  $\alpha$ .

<sup>10</sup>Curiously, the symmetry between Russian *wh*-phrases and anaphors extends also on the empirical side. In Russian, long-distance *wh*-extraction is impossible out of indicative clauses, but is possible out of subjunctive clauses, as shown in (i). In Icelandic, long-distance construal of the anaphor *sig* is impossible out of indicative clauses, but it is possible out of subjunctives, as (ii) shows:

- (i) a. \**Kogo* Ivan думае что Petr пригласил? [Russian]  
       Who Ivan thinks that Petr invited  
       'Who does Ivan think that Petr invited?'  
       b. *Kogo kogda* ty хо́чеш' чтоby ja пригласил  
       Whom when you want that-sbj. I invited  
       'Who do you want me to invite when?'  
 (ii) a. \*Jón<sub>i</sub> veit að María elskar (ind.) sig<sub>i</sub> [Icelandic]  
       John<sub>i</sub> knows that Mary loves himself<sub>i</sub>  
       b. Jón<sub>i</sub> says að María<sub>j</sub> elski (subj) sig<sub>i/j</sub>  
       John<sub>i</sub> says that Mary<sub>j</sub> loves himself<sub>i</sub>

instances of one and the same movement. There is no reason to believe that anaphor and focus movement are driven by the same formal needs. Rather, what is striking here is a similar structural configuration in which anaphors and focused *wh*-phrases end up.

It is conceivable that interpretation of anaphors under LF anaphor movement, and of Russian *wh*-elements under the analysis proposed here, employs a similar (or the same) interpretive strategy that operates over this particular configuration when submitted to the semantic module. This strategy cannot by itself create the configuration by driving movement of *wh*-phrases and anaphors; in Chomsky's (1995) terms, no "search for intelligibility" is possible in syntactic operations in the minimalist framework. Therefore, the configuration is achieved independently by different syntactic mechanisms: Cliticization<sub>LF</sub> in the case of anaphors, focus movement in the case of Russian *wh*-phrases.

## 6. Summary

In this paper I argued that no *wh*-movement in the traditional sense takes place in Russian. The superficial appearance of such movement is due to the fact that all *wh*-phrases are fronted in Russian for reasons of checking their focus feature. This conclusion is reached on the basis of an economy-driven approach to Superiority adopted in the present work. I also suggested that the structural configuration in which *wh*-phrases in Russian end up in relation to the interrogative Q is reminiscent of the one found with regard to the anaphors and their antecedents, under the LF anaphor movement hypothesis.

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